

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 HA-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 USIE-00
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O 242211Z MAR 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0254
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 01081

FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: DRAFT COVER LETTER FOR SWAPO

FOLLOWING IS US DRAFT COVERING LETTER TO SWAPO ON THE
REVISED PROPOSAL, SENT FOR YOUR COMMENTS.

FOR CAPE TOWN: PLEASE PASS TEXT TO CANADIAN EMBASSY.
TEXT FOLLOWS:

DRAFT WESTERN FIVE MESSAGE TO SWAPO

1. ON FEBRUARY 9-12, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF OUR FIVE
GOVERNMENTS MET WITH THE SWAPO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, LED
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BY PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA, ON THE BASIS OF OUR PROPOSAL
FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. WE WERE
IMPRESSED WITH THE SERIOUS MANNER IN WHICH SWAPO APPROACH-
ED THOSE NEGOTIATIONS AND WERE PLEASED BY YOUR WILLINGNESS
TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN THE INTEREST OF A PEACEFUL SETTLE-
MENT IN KEEPING WITH SC RESOLUTIN 385. AT THOSE MEETINGS,
AND IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION SSINCE THEN, BOTH SWAPO AND

SOUTH AFRICA RAISED A NUMBER OF POINTS REGARDING OUR PROPOSAL. SOME WERE MATTERS OF DRAFTING OTHERS WERE MORE SUBSTANTIVE. OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED EVERY POINT THAT WAS RAISED AND HAVE MADE SOME AMENDMENTS TO CLARIFY THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSAL. THE MAIN BODY OF THE TEXT, HOWEVER, REMAINS UNALTERED. WE HAVE NOW INSTRUCTED OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO PROVIDE YOU, SOUTH AFRICA AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES WITH OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA LEADING TO EARLY MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE TERRITORY. IT HAS THE UNRESERVED BACKING OF OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE PROPOSAL, WHICH THE FIVE ARE PREPARED TO PRESENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

2. IN THE COURSE OF OUR EFFORTS DURING THE PAST YEAR OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE SOUGHT TO NEGOTIATE NEITHER A SOUTH AFRICAN SURRENDER NOR THE SIMPLE TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SWAPO. NEITHER GOAL WOULD HAVE BEEN REALISTIC. RATHER, OUR GOAL HAS BEEN TO ACHIEVE A POLITICAL AGREEMENT, BASED UPON COMPROMISE. INEVITABLY SUCH AN AGREEMENT WOULD NOT SATISFY THE MAXIMUM OBJECTIVE OF EITHER PARTY. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE DIVIDED A SOLUTION WHICH IS FAIR AND JUST, WHICH IS BUILT UPON THE FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY RESOLUTION 385, AND WHICH ULTIMATELY SATISFIES THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES.
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3. WE BEGAN WITH THE PREMISE THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA IS ILLEGAL AND SHOULD BE ENDED. WE HAVE ACHIEVED A SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE PARTIES ON A PROCESS WHICH WOULD TERMINATE THAT PRESENCE. IT INCLUDES AS A KEY ELEMENT A VERY SUBSTANTIAL UN INVOLVEMENT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL HAVE A DECISIVE INFLUENCE OVER THE POLITICAL PROCESS AND HIS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY STAFF WILL BE CONSIDERABLE IN SIZE. ALL LEVELS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THE POLICE AND THE SMALL RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE WILL COME UNDER THE CLOSE SUPERVISION OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S STAFF. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD DELIBERATELY VIOLATE THE AGREEMENT WITHOUT BRINGING DOWN UPON THEMSELVES THE CONDEMNATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

4. DURING THE FEBRUARY NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK, SWAPO, IN A MAJOR CONCESSION, ACCEPTED THE RETENTION OF A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE OF 1500 IN NAMIBIA UNTIL AFTER CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTIONS. WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT THIS FORCE BE RESTRICTED UNDER CLOSE UN

MONITORING TO BASES AT OSHIVELLA AND GROOTFONTEIN. WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL THAT PLATOON SIZE UNITS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEFENSE FORCES ALSO BE POSITIONED IN EIGHT LOCATIONS NEAR THE BORDER WITH ANGOLA; NEITHER CAN WE ACCEPT THE SWAPO PROPOSAL THAT THE RESIDUAL FORCE SHOULD BE CONFINED TO BASE KARASBURG. THIS IS TANTAMOUNT TO DEMANDING ITS COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL AND WOULD BE UNNECESSARY AS, GIVEN THE MONITORING ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WE PROPOSE, WE DO NOT SEE HOW SUCH A SMALL FORCE CAN POSSIBLY REPRESENT A THREAT TO THE FREEDOM OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. WE DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THAT SECTION OF OUR PROPOSAL WHICH DEALS WITH THE POLICE. THERE WE HAVE ADDRESSED SWAPO'S LEGITIMATE CONCERNS ABOUT

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FOR EMBASSY CAPE TOWN

THEIR CONDUCT AND ABOUT THE NEED TO MONITOR THEIR ACTIVITIES CAREFULLY.

5. WITH REGARD TO THE SIZE OF THE UN MILITARY CONTINGENT, WE REMAIN OF THE VIEW THAT WE SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE AN ARBITRARY FIGURE, BUT SHOULD LEAVE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO DETERMINE WHAT IS NECESSARY IN THE LIGHT OF THE

REQUIREMENTS OF THE TASK. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE IT CLEAR THAT OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS WILL SUPPORT HIS JUDGMENT AND WE SHALL HONOR THIS COMMITMENT.

6. AS BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA REJECTED THE FORMULA WHICH WE DEvised FOR THE DIFFICULT QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY, WE HAVE OMITTED THIS ELEMENT FROM THE PROPOSAL. WE SEE NO CONFIDENTIAL

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WAY OF SETTling THE QUESTION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT DIS-AGREEMENTS REGARDING THE STATUS OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO IMPEDE A GENERAL AND OTHERWISE ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT FOR NAMIBIA. WE HAVE TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT ALL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. OUR REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THIS CLEAR IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HAVE OBTAINED ASSURANCES THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE IN WALVIS BAY WILL NOT BE INCREASED DURING THIS TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND THAT NAMIBIANS IN WALVIS BAY WILL BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF THE TERRITORY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, INCLUDING VOTING IN ELECTIONS.

7. OTHER ASPECTS OF OUR PROPOSAL HAVE CAUSED DIFFICULTY FOR ONE OR ANOTHER PARTY. IN OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THEY ARE RELATIVELY MINOR MATTERS COMPARED WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. WE HAVE GIVEN FULL AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO EACH OF THESE MATTERS AND OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS FIRMLY SUPPORT OUR CLARIFIED PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL BE WIDELY ACCEPTED AS FAIR BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE HOPE THAT SWAPO WILL GIVE THOROUGH BUT RAPID STUDY TO THE REVISED PROPOSAL AND THAT YOU WILL APPROACH IT WITH A VIEW TOWARD DETERMINING HOW IT CAN BE MADE TO WORK RATHER THAN SINGLING OUT THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH YOU MAY BELIEVE WILL CAUSE DIFFICULTY. WE PROPOSE TO MOVE AHEAD URGENTLY. LEONARD

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